3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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593 (*Man daa nye fara dɔŋi ki cyɔm la ŋwala*)', this is a curse of the most
789 terrible kind. For that reason, no doubt, none of my informants could
826 quote an instance of a mother actually putting this curse on a child. The symbolism is of interest, however, in view of the stress Tallensi lay on the mother as food-giver in their conventional picture of her.

Childhood

●857 The next three or four years of a child's life are probably its freest and
593 happiest. Its energies are spent in play or in roaming around the immediate neighbourhood of the homestead in the company of slightly older siblings and classificatory siblings. But children of this age delight in being with their parents too. They will hang around their mother in the kitchen and trot around or sit with their father when he is resting under the shade tree. They see and hear everything that is going on in the house and are tolerated at all domestic occasions. In this way, and through their mimetic play, they build up the rudimentary schemas[1] of ideas, manual dexterities, and sentiments out of which grow the skills, interests, and values of later life. Love and indulgence is still the keynote of their parents' and other close relatives' attitude to them. Tallensi say that small children at this stage are still more attached to their mother than to their father because it is she who feeds them. In fact, as we have already mentioned, throughout a Talǝŋ's life he thinks of his mother as the one who gave him food without stint, going hungry herself, if need be, so that her child might be fed.

857 By the age of 7 or 8 the child's world is becoming much more complex;
868 and the shadow of discipline and authority is creeping over it. Until it
593 reaches the threshold of adolescence, at about 12 to 14 years of age, it still remains free to play for much of its time. But from the age of 7 or so boys and girls are eager to participate in the adult routine of life and they become more and more involved in it. They begin by being given the simplest economic and household tasks such as scaring the birds from the fields of ripening grain, tethering the goats, rounding up the poultry—tasks which children of both sexes perform—or sweeping the house, carrying a tiny pot of water, gathering edible fungi or herbs for the pot, which girls only do. A very common task of both girls and boys at this stage is acting nursemaid to a baby. As this shows, there is very little social differentiation between them as yet.

857 By the age of about 9 or 10 children begin to adopt the sexual division
593 of labour customary among the Tallensi, and with it the corresponding
462 division of social roles and ideals. Boys start following their older
868 brothers and take their turn at herding their father's cattle if he has any. They are becoming more skilful with the hoe and by the age of about 12 reach a high degree of proficiency. A 12-year-old boy helps his mother

[1] Cf. the discussion of this concept in my Memorandum just cited.

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to hoe her ground-nut plot and may have a small ground-nut plot of his own. Sometimes he will work short spells with his father on the home farm. He may have a fowl or two of his own and will be trying to breed chickens and guinea-fowl. He is thinking of farming and of the breeding of poultry and livestock in the same terms as his father does. A girl of 9 or 10 is learning from her mother how to cook, how to beat floors and plaster walls, how to carry out all the routine domestic duties of a housewife. She is acquiring the woman's view of life centred on marriage and motherhood.

On the economic side the child's world has become differentiated into two divisions in accordance with the sexual division of labour. It has become correspondingly differentiated on the structural side into a sphere of masculine interests and dominance and a sphere of feminine interests and dominance—overlapping spheres, it is true, but still with differences of major emphasis. At sowing time and harvest time, when a house is being built, a funeral made, or a sacrifice carried out, a boy is with the men, sometimes lending a hand and so acquiring the right ways of doing things, as often as not weaving himself in and out of the activity, together with his friends, in play.

It is striking to see how boys at this stage identify themselves with their fathers in speech, gesture, and behaviour, and this gives a bias to their character for life. Nindɔyat of Zubiuŋ's three boys, from the oldest, aged about 20, to the youngest, aged about 7, had their father's arrogant, vulgar egotism. Ɔmara's three sons, covering about the same age range, were, like their father, quiet, modest, and self-effacing. Samane's two small boys of about 7 or 8, who always followed him about like two pups, had his engaging swagger and blunt self-confidence. And one sees it, also, in the way a small boy will hector his mother—for instance, when the family is out sowing or lifting ground-nuts—in exactly the tone of voice and manner that his father uses. Little girls identify themselves in the same way with their mothers both in the work they do and in their ways of behaving. I used to learn a great deal about the opinions and personal attitudes of men and women from the gossip brought to me by their children. By the age of 8 or 9 a girl feels herself to belong to the women. She talks with disdain of her 5-year-old playmate or sister who still eats fowl and she is full of the women's gossip of babies and pregnancies and marriages.

Up to the age of about 5 a child is allowed much latitude in conforming to the standards and values of Tale culture. By the age of 8 or 9 it is 'acquiring sense (*ŋɔŋa yam*)', beginning to understand these standards and values and is expected to conform to them as far as its physical and social maturity permit. Its parents will henceforth assert their authority and exercise discipline to assure this, and thence comes a further social and emotional differentiation of the parents. Properly speaking it is only the father who exercises authority over a child; a mother rules her child

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interests of siblings, particularly of brothers, is built up on common upbringing and a common body of affective experience. In the older settlements the children of an expanded family, or even of a group of families based on a medial lineage, grow up together. Hence one finds, as has already been recorded,[1] that any member of an inner lineage knows the life-history of every other member.

This common background of siblings is illustrated in children's play-groups.[2] In the older settlements the play-groups of children under 8 or thereabouts rarely include children who belong to different medial lineages. It is the children of a group of adjacent homesteads, who are *ipso facto* members of the same inner or at most medial lineage, that form regular play-groups. Children of one sex of the same joint family or expanded family between whom there is not a wide age-gap always play together in the same group. Siblings of like sex learn together, and to an important extent from one another, the economic skills and practical knowledge they will need in order to get their livelihood. As nearly common a body of experience as is possible for separate individuals shapes their social personalities and directs their interests, ideals, and purposes towards culturally defined goals and values. In Tale society men or women of equal social maturity tend to think and feel alike in the same situation. Thus the similarity of character marking them out amongst their age-fellows which one very often observes in a pair of brothers or sisters is noteworthy,[3] the more so as differences of temperament and intelligence are not obliterated thereby. It is, indeed, just this uniformity of character that makes it difficult for some brothers and sisters to get on well with each other.

The ties of mutual attachment, loyalty, and solidarity in social matters that unite siblings are graded according to their genealogical closeness. They are closest for full (*soog*) siblings and progressively less close for those who have only a father in common, a paternal grandfather in common, a paternal great-grandfather in common, or more remote connexion.

These differences are laid down in earliest infancy. The intimacy and close mutual identification of full siblings is rooted in their common dependence on their mother in childhood. It is to her that they look for food and emotional security, and a mother's care is given to all her small children equally and in a group. In the hunger months if a woman gets hold of a little grain to cook some food for her children, she calls them all to eat of it and they all sit down together around the dish. The first lessons in sharing equally are learnt in this setting. The 6-year-

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 210.

[2] I have given a short description of these play-groups in my '*Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*', previously cited.

[3] The processes of education that lie behind the formation of social personality among the Tallensi are more fully discussed in the paper just cited.

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593 old, admonished sometimes by his mother, tries not to eat too greedily lest his 2-year-old brother or sister eating with him should not have his fill. The 11- or 12-year-old, copying his parents, will take a mouthful or two and then say he has had enough, leaving the dish to be finished by his younger siblings. Thus are the seeds of the concern for each other's welfare commonly found between full siblings planted through the precept and example of the mother.

593 As we have seen, children sleep with their mother in infancy and early childhood. The feeling of emotional security this gives to a child •867 thus becomes associated with his maternal siblings. Tarəmba, aged about 9, was playing with his usual companions of about the same age—four other boys and a little girl. All but one of these children came from the same expanded family. I stopped to chat to them. After a while we got on to the subject of parents. Yindubil said he preferred his father to his mother. Tarəmba interrupted, exclaiming, 'Hee! he 's telling fibs. It 's only because his mother has run away. My mother is dead and so I can't help it, I've got to like my father best. But if you have a mother it 's different. She is the one who gives you food; and when night comes you sleep beside her, and you don't have bad dreams. If [928] you sleep alone you have bad dreams.' For a Taləŋ sleeping badly or having bad dreams is the arch symptom of a state of anxiety. Tarəmba's wistful remarks sum up vividly what a mother means to a Taləŋ as the focus of his sense of security, and this affect adheres to a full sibling. It forms a strong motive in the reluctance of full brothers to part and set up separate households or separate homesteads. Təbəg and Dəbil were full brothers (*saarət*), both middle-aged men with adult children. They lived together and farmed together in great amity. I knew them well and had occasion more than once to discuss with them one of my stock subjects, why *soog* brothers do not, like half-brothers, separate when their families start growing up. 'No', they said, 'thus it is pleasant (*ɣwala m-mah*). Being together thus we help each other. We two sitting here, are we not the children of one mother? He and I, we come from one vulva (*ti yi la pɛn yɛnni na*).' This is the standard explanation given for the lifelong partnership of *soog* brothers.

Soog siblings are generally devoted to each other and always, as far as my observation goes, unquestioningly loyal to each other in relation to other people. One sees this very clearly in the behaviour of young children. Babies and infants are often left by their mothers in the care of older children. A woman may ask one of her co-wives' children to keep an eye on her infant for a little while, but it is not usual for an infant to be left for hours on end, or a whole day, in the care of a half-sibling. So if one sees an infant being carried about by a young girl of 10 or 11 one can be fairly certain that they are either full siblings or that the little nursemaid is the infant's mother's classificatory 'sister' or 'child', whom she has specially brought to live with her

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as nursemaid to the baby. If one sees a boy taking care of an infant one can be certain that the children are *saarət*. A boy will gladly keep an eye on a baby half-brother or half-sister for an hour or so, but he will refuse to take care of the baby for a longer period. Not so with his *soog* sibling. Boys delight in carrying their infant *saarət* about or having them with them in the same play-group. All children are very patient and affectionate with younger *saarət*. A homely sight is that of a little boy or girl of about 6 or 7 kneeling beside a baby sibling on the ground and caressing its face with slightly parted lips.

Tale children often squabble among themselves, with that mixture of earnestness and fantasy that runs through so many of their group activities; but I have never seen a child trying maliciously to hurt another. Between siblings, especially full siblings near to each other in age, squabbling is regarded as a normal habit. It is one of the signs of their equality and familiarity. So one sometimes sees a little boy or girl of 3 or 4 angrily pummelling a sibling of 7 or 8 and the older child playfully warding off the childish blows. Or one sees an infant howling in rage for something and his elder brother or sister patiently soothing him. Yindubil, aged about 8, whose mother had run away, was being brought up by his father's younger wife. Her little son, Mɔyar-pu-la'at, aged about 4, was very fond of Yindubil and followed him about wherever he went. Said Yindubil, of his half-brother, with a grin, 'He 's quarrelsome, always wants to scrap with me. But I don't mind; he 's my *soog*[1] and besides he 's not greedy. If our mother prepares some food for us he always waits for me to come and join him.' Passing Bayankura's homestead one morning I found his children standing about in front of the gateway. As I came up, the youngest, a boy of about 3, ran to his brother, a lad of 11 or 12, and clung to him. Their half-sister, aged about 9, laughed and said to me: 'He (the infant) is afraid of you, so he runs to his *soog*.' I asked, 'Why didn't he run to you?'—for a small child runs to its mother or older sister more readily than to a brother or its father for protection. 'Oh', she replied, 'he likes his *soog* better than me.' I asked Kyekambɛ, aged about 11 or 12, whom he liked best, his small *soog* brother Badiwona, aged about 6, or his half-brothers who were his constant playmates. 'Badiwona', he said emphatically, 'we are one mother's children, and some day, when I move out to farm on my own, he will come with me, the others won't.' Similarly, Maŋya, aged about 12, and his *soog*-brother Tɛndaanbon, aged about 8, were inseparable. They helped each other to hoe their respective ground-nut plots and always went about together. They ate together regularly out of the same dish; they went on errands together.

[1] Not in the strict sense, of course. But this is a very good example of how being brought up by the same 'mother' creates sentiments of attachment similar to those of true *saarət*. I came across several instances of this.

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Once a smaller boy who was with them hit Maɛŋya. Maɛŋya turned furiously on the small boy; but it was somewhat comical to see Tɛn-daanbon equally angry with the assailant. Like many full or half-siblings of about the same age and the same sex, these two boys were extraordinarily alike in character, modelling themselves obviously on their father. They had his blunt and honest habits of speech, his diligence and readiness to oblige, and a sense of responsibility beyond their years.

Until one of them reaches the age of about 9 or 10, and sometimes even after that age, *soog* siblings are frequently together irrespective of sex. That is why one often sees a little girl with a group of small boys, or a little boy with a group of small girls. Between the ages of about 9 and 12 the sexual dichotomy prevailing in Tale culture begins to have a strong influence on the children, as we have seen. Different economic activities divide boys and girls. One rarely finds girls accompanying the herd boys or boys going for firewood with their mothers and sisters. Boys are beginning to share the interests and activities of the men, girls those of the women. Boys go about with their 'mates' (*taab*, sing. *taraan*) or 'chums' (*dəlɔntaas*, sing. *dəlɔntaa*) of about the same age, and girls with their girl chums. Boys of 11 and 12 are apt to be rather scornful of girls, and girls of this age turn up their noses at their boy contemporaries. Overtly, their attitudes to one another remind one of the latency phase in European children. Children round about 11 to 13 do not play together much in groups except on special occasions. Girls, in particular, are at home a good deal.

This is the time, therefore, when the sex factor begins to exercise a strong influence on the relations of siblings; age differences also become significant; and with this emerges a distinction between the social aspect of siblingship and the affective, personal aspect. A boy of 11 to 13 may make a boon companion of a half-brother or a classificatory brother from a neighbouring homestead of about his own age, leaving his younger *soog* brother or sister to his or her own devices if the difference between them is considerable. When Koyatee came to see me it was always with one of his chums who belonged to a different branch of his medial lineage, never with his younger *soog* brother or sister.

It is the same with girls at this stage. Ba'anzee's best friend was her classificatory 'daughter' of about her own age from the next homestead. They used to come up to the camp to call on my wife, as they generally announced to me, their arms affectionately round each other's neck. Maanyeya's daily playmate was her classificatory sister of about the same age from a neighbouring homestead—until her mother had a baby who wholly absorbed Maanyeya's delighted attention.

This tendency to seek outside friendships, though still chiefly among siblings of the same inner lineage, increases with the approach of adolescence. From the age of about 14 to 16 up to about 18 to 20 many

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The meat, already putrescent, is nevertheless enjoyed despite its stench. Fresh eggs, being potential chickens, are never eaten; but addled eggs are much appreciated by children, who bake them in ashes. Children also eat field and domestic mice, a species of toad, and harmless snakes, all of which they shoot with miniature bows and arrows in the later months of the dry season. These things are despised by adolescents and adults who, however, appreciate bigger rodents like moles and water voles. In short, meat supplies are a matter of chance, vary greatly with the season, as will be clearer later, and though much desired, form but a small part of the bulk of food consumed.

FATS AND SEASONINGS. Fats and seasonings have a very important place in Tale cookery, and, like vegetables, are the woman's responsibility. But they are mainly market commodities and a man will frequently give his wife money to purchase them. The only fat used is shea butter (*kpaam*). It is obtainable all the year round. It is made of the nuts of the shea fruit (*kpi*) which are carefully preserved after the fruits have been eaten.

Dawa-dawa seed balls (*kpɔlug*) are made by boiling the seeds of the dawa-dawa fruits. The balls are sold at prices varying from a tenth of a penny for one the size of a large marble to threepence for one the size of a cricket ball.

The laborious processes of manufacture involved prevent many women from making their own shea-butter and dawa-dawa seed balls. Others, who can command the assistance, e.g. of daughters, often prepare enough to have a surplus for sale.

Red pepper (*nanzuuh*) is grown in small quantities by a few men for sale in the market, and much is imported. It is sold at about a halfpenny for a handful.

Rock salt (*yaarem*) is sold in the market by regular traders who fetch it from the south, a small heap (about ½lb.) for a halfpenny.

Ziem, the ash of valley grasses, and *bakaa*, the ash of early millet stalks, are prepared by the women and are stored in large baskets or calabashes for their own use and for sale. They are used as salt substitutes.

THE PRODUCTIVE CYCLE AND THE FOOD CYCLE. We have seen how the domestic organization of the Tallensi works in relation to the supply of grain and the other main raw materials of their diet. We

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571 861 siblings, half-siblings, and ortho-cousins of close agnatic kinship from the same joint family or sublineage group. The composition of a children's group depends upon various factors. The most important of these are the following:

561 857 *Age and mobility.* Infants still requiring care are often carried about by boys and girls attached to a group of older children. Generally speaking, children of the same degree of mobility tend to go about together. Thus one often finds a group comprising children of about 6 to 10 years. But the stage of social development reached by a child is important in this connexion. Hence young children under 10–11, children between 10–11 and the beginning of pubescence, and adolescents all tend to form separate groups.

571 857 462 *Sex.* Before the age of about 6 years small boys very frequently go about with girls' groups, and small girls, though more rarely, accompany older brothers. After that age as mobility increases and interests diverge the sexes tend to separate. A well-defined sexual dichotomy runs through Tale social life and thought, and the children begin to adopt the cultural definitions of the roles of the sexes in relation to each other about the time that single-sex groups become common. This is associated with a differentiation of their activities on the periphery of the economic system. Thus cowherds are always boys, whereas it is the girls who help with the housekeeping.

571 857 *The social situation.* Yet none of these children's groups resemble gangs. They have no permanent structure. They generally crystallize out in particular situations and the composition of a group depends largely upon the situation. In ritual situations one often finds a somewhat amorphous group of children and young people of a wide age-range. In games and imaginative play, however, it is more usual to meet with small groups of restricted age-range. Pairs and trios of either sex and of nearly the same age, who are almost always siblings or ortho-cousins, often have a more lasting companionship in work and play and provide a nucleus for larger temporary groups, especially in the dry season.

593 861 858 The most fundamental educational relationship of the Tallensi is, however, not that of children to children but of children to parents. It is a complex relationship, as defined in Tale culture, but its principal moments can be readily discerned. On the plane of rational, everyday

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Plate I

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A young nursemaid, amusing herself and the baby with a *Kinkayax* rattle

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Housekeeping Play. One of the girls combines the duty of looking after an infant with her play. Note the small boy in the party, and the 'utensils'

[facing p.16]

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Plate II

778
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A small boy 'sacrificing' to his own 'shrine' (posed)

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Gleaning groundnuts, one of the ways of learning to use a hoe. The child on the extreme right is a girl

[facing p. 17]

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aims and desires in their activities and show a sense of purpose and sustained effort. Food, for example, is one of the dominant interests of Tale children. In 1936 the ground-nut crop surpassed all anticipations in some districts. An elder, referring to this in conversation a week or two before the crop was harvested, said: 'We have a surfeit of ground-nuts this year. Look at the children. They don't care about their mothers, they don't care about their fathers.' When food is scarce, he explained, children are for ever running in to their mothers clamouring for something to eat. Now they are out all day, and if they feel hungry they simply pull up a handful of ground-nuts to chew and are satisfied. Food, indeed, remains one of the dominant interests of a Talaŋa from childhood to old age, and with the confluence of other interests and motives has a great effect on Tale economic life. Between the ages of 6 and 14 the interest of boys in food becomes linked up with other interests which have been developing during that period, e.g. in learning to use the bow and arrow, in the comradeship of boys of about the same size, in primary economic and technical processes such as herding and hoeing, in exploring the environs of the settlement, and so forth. Thus, a group of boys out herding cattle often have their bows and arrows with them, and when the cattle are grazing quietly they will search around for cane rats or birds to shoot as titbits.

From a very early age—before they can walk or talk—until adulthood children show a marked and explicit interest in the activities of their parents and older siblings and other adults with whom they come in contact. This is due, in part, to the unity of the social sphere. The children thus begin to adopt the cultural values of their society in infancy, as has been indicated above in our discussion of the social sphere. It may, however, be worth while repeating that children express a keen interest in farming, in livestock, in ceremonies, dances and recreations, and in the conspicuous current activities of their households, in their kinship relationships, and so forth, from the age of 3 upwards, long before they can actively participate in these affairs. But it is shown quite clearly in their attitudes when they are allowed to be present at adult activities, and in their fantasies as revealed in their talk and play, which revolve round the themes of adult social life.

Another group of interests significant for the educational development of Tale children is connected with their habitat. By the age of

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82 9 or 10 the children are thoroughly familiar with the ecological environ-
861 ment of their clan settlements. They know the economically important trees, grasses, and herbs, e.g., a girl of about 9 once named and showed me nine varieties of herbs used for making soup. They have a fair idea of the gross anatomy of the fowl, small field animals, and larger live stock. But apart from these achievements which lead one to infer the existence of an interest in the natural environment, I was able to obtain some direct evidence thereof. The natives say that small children frequently ask questions about people and things they see around them. However, listening to children's talk for 'why' questions,[1] I was surprised to note how rarely they occurred; and the few instances I recorded refer to objects or persons foreign to the normal routine of Tale life. It would seem that Tale children rarely have to ask 'why' in regard to the people and things of their normal environment because so much of their learning occurs in real situations where explanation is generally coupled with instruction, and because they hear so much adult discussion, in terms of cause and effect, as these are understood by the Tallensi, of the things they are interested in. Yet two examples will prove that even quite small children react with exploratory interest to what is new and unusual. I gave some tiny tin figures of animals to a group of small children to play with. A little boy of about 5 looked intently at the figure of a horse. 'Why does he stoop like that?' he asked, speaking to himself rather than to his companions. But immediately he answered his own question, 'He is eating grass.' On another occasion I observed the 3-year-old son of our cook, pointing to the garbage tin, ask the horseboy: 'Why has that got a lid?'

● 857 Again, making clay figures is a favourite diversion of small boys
177 and adolescents. The standard figures are men and women, cows and
532 horses. But a youngster of about 9 or 10 once produced a motor-cycle, explaining that he had recently seen the Agricultural Officer arrive on one. Another boy, a little older, once made a roan antelope, explaining that some two years previously he had seen one of these animals which, fleeing from a hunting party, had entered the settlement and been surrounded and killed there.

128 I have not attempted to give an exhaustive account of the interests

[1] See N. Isaacs in *Intellectual Growth of Young Children*.

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which Tale children develop in the course of their education. I have tried to indicate only some typical interests and their relation to the educational process.

Skills. The acquisition of skills also commences in early infancy, with the child's first experiments in motor co-ordination and speech. Bodily dexterity provides merely the foundation upon which are subsequently built up the socially important skills of adult life. They include not only the predominantly manual skills, such as are connected with farming and care of live stock, with hunting, fishing, building, thatching, cooking, housekeeping and gardening, and the technology of specialists, but also non-manual skills, such as a knowledge of the kinship system, of ritual and ceremonial, of economically useful herbs and roots and of others used as drugs to cure illness, of buying and selling, of law and custom—in short, of the whole body of cultural definitions which guide the Talənə in his daily existence. Such skills are the end-results of education; and it will be obvious that they represent merely the cognitive and motor aspects of activities rooted in developing interests and fostered by the expectation of normal behaviour. Typical skills will be referred to as we proceed, but one general feature must be noted here. Children in Taleland are remarkably free from over-solicitious supervision. They have the maximum freedom and responsibility commensurate with their skill and maturity. On the one hand they can go where they like and do what they like, on the other they are held fully responsible for tasks entrusted to them. Thus, a 6-year-old is quite often charged with the care of an infant for several hours at a stretch. Girls of 9 or 10 can be seen in large numbers in every market, selling or buying things for their mothers or themselves. Boys of this age and even younger swarm in the markets. One market day I discovered a boy of about 10–11 selling a basketful of leaves used as a food for animals which he had himself collected in the bush near his settlement. He hoped to earn a penny or twopence to buy arrow-heads for himself. Another day a boy of about the same age offered his services to the butcher. He earned a tenth of a penny which he spent on a feed of locust-bean flour for himself and a friend. Similarly, when there is dancing at a homestead, the children of about 6 years and upwards from the whole neighbourhood congregate there and remain till

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dawn. They might tell their parents where they are going, but would not be sent for to come home.

Numerous instances could be added to illustrate further the freedom allowed to children. Of the responsibility allotted to them in applying their skills and their appreciation of it, one good example may be quoted. I was chatting with a group of boys, aged about 7–11 years, at sunset one day, when Duunbil, the oldest of them, suddenly exclaimed, clasping his hands in a gesture expressing both amusement and consternation: 'Ma! I've forgotten to untie the goats; I'll get a whipping.' 'You'd better run,' one of the others advised, as he dashed away. His companions explained that he had pegged his father's goats out in the morning to graze and that it was his duty to bring them home again. Goats cannot be left out all night lest hyenas catch them. A few days later I met Duunbil again and he told me, with a grin, that he had not managed to bring the goats in till after dark, but that he had been let off with a mild beating.

Children and adolescents share economic tasks in accordance with their skill and maturity, and they have a strong sense of the rights to which they are entitled in consequence. An adolescent has the right to be adequately fed and supported by his or her parents in return for co-operation in agricultural or domestic work. I have known of youths running away from home when they considered themselves to be badly treated in these respects. Children expect to have their services acknowledged in a similar way. Yindəl, aged about 11, an intelligent and enterprising lad, was already giving his father valuable assistance, both in the care of live stock and in farming. When the great dances came round, Yindəl wanted a new loin cloth. His father refused to buy him one, whereupon Yindəl went on strike, neglected the chickens, the donkeys, the goats and refused to go to the bush farm even after a beating. In the end his father had to yield. *Bii la mar buurt*—'The boy has justice on his side'—he said, when he told me the story.

A similar incident occurred with a man who supplied us with milk for a short while. Money is scarce in Taleland and 2*s.* 6*d.* a month is an enviable addition to family resources. Yet one day he came to tell me apologetically that he could no longer sell me milk. Why? His small son, whose job it was to herd the cow, had rebelled. He

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used always to milk the cow during the day, in the pasture, when he became hungry; but if he was not going to be allowed to do this because the white man must be supplied with milk, he would no longer drive the cow out to graze.

Increasing skill and maturity, therefore, bring increasing responsibilities but also concomitant rewards—that is, ever closer integration into the system of co-operation and reciprocity which is the basis of Tale domestic economy.[1] The unity of the social sphere, the interest of children in the world of adult activities, and the rapidity with which each advance in educational achievement is socially utilized constitute a ring of incentives which help to explain the eagerness of Tale children to grow up and take their full place in adult life.

Observances. Finally, there are the observances which every Talaŋa has to learn in the course of his or her life. These comprise ritual, moral and ethical values, norms and obligations, as well as rules of etiquette and standards of correct conduct in general. Some of these types of observances can be readily identified in Tale culture. It is not so easy to determine what exactly are moral and ethical norms and obligations and their place in this culture. Certainly an exhaustive study of this, the most recondite and perhaps fundamental aspect of Tale education, could not be ventured without first precisely establishing the nature of these observances and how they are maintained. For the limited purpose of this paper it will be sufficient to select some representative examples of rules of conduct the violation or neglect of which is repugnant to the cultural idiom of the Tallensi or, otherwise expressed, would be considered blameworthy or disgraceful, sinful or wicked, uncouth or embarrassing to others. To ask how they are learnt is to ask how they are experienced by the growing child at different stages of its development.

To the native these norms have an arbitrary quality as if they require no validation, other than the fact that normal and equable social relations would be impossible without them, that they are indispensable for satisfactory social adjustment.[2] In Taleland, it is true, learn-

[1] See M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', loc. cit., for a more detailed description of this.

[2] The argument of this section owes much to the stimulus of Durkheim's *L'Éducation morale.*

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12–13) about when the lad was helping with the housebuilding and even scold him if he bungled a task. This was legitimate technical instruction. But he declared emphatically that he dare not strike the boy, *on ndɔyam la zugu*. From the authority of parent over child is derived that of elder sibling over younger. It is equally absolute. A youth or girl has no hesitation in restraining or correcting a younger sibling with a cuff which often sends the latter off howling at the top of his voice. The authority of seniors in general over juniors is accepted by custom (e.g., among herdboys), though not so absolutely and unquestioningly. It is often maintained by force, or in virtue of superior skill. It is intelligible, therefore, why the Tallensi usually say *ti banam yɛl nla*, 'our forefathers' matter is this' when they are asked to account for an observance, and why their children say, *bunkɔra la yɛl ti la gwala*, 'the grown-ups have told us so'.

Just as all Tallensi, children or adults, recognize the force of authority, even though they sometimes flout it, so they accept the principle of equal rights for equals. One can see this, not only in standardized patterns of behaviour, but, e.g., in the spontaneity with which children share things and activities. When a small boy snares a bird or kills a mouse or lizard he will always share his catch with friends or siblings, apportioning it according to sex and age. A favourite pastime of boys of all ages, from 5 upwards, is wrestling. Sometimes bigger youths stand by to supervise, but always scrupulous fairness is insisted upon, and thus instilled. It is as correct and even praiseworthy to demand what one is entitled to as it is reprehensible to take what one has no right to. A nice illustration, showing incidentally how such principles are sometimes taught, came to my notice during an evening ceremony which had been unduly dragged out. A dozen or more small boys aged from 5 upwards had gathered at the ceremony to wait for a share of the feast which would follow the religious rites. The food was sent out and distributed by an adult, one or two boys of equal size to a dish. Suddenly an elder called out, 'Where is Zuur?' (a small boy of about 5) and rose to look for him. Zuur lay fast asleep in a corner. The old man shook the child roughly to awaken him, and dragged him towards a dish of food upbraiding him, 'Where do you think you will find food after it has all been eaten? You can't control yourself at all.' Zuur, still

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somnolent, sat whimpering as he ate, while some one else commented that if you want your share of food you must be there to receive it.

The principle of reciprocity which is thus early learnt in association with siblings and age mates is one of the basic moral axioms of Tale social life. If a man refuses to come to the assistance of a neighbour who has invited a collective hoeing party, the latter will retaliate by refusing assistance to the former at a later date. Often at mortuary ceremonies some one, not obliged by custom to do so, will bring an animal to be slaughtered for the dead, 'because when my father died, he brought a sheep to be killed'. A girl of about 10, after her grandmother's funeral, showed me how half her head had been shaved in the customary way. But her spontaneous explanation was: 'Because, at the feast, when they cook the beans they give me a whole dish to myself.' This moral aspect of Tale social relations, as we can now see, explains the rights which increasing economic skill confer upon a boy or a girl. Those who work for you *deserve* their keep.[1]

[1] I have not attempted to track the Tale attitudes towards authority and justice to their roots in infant psychology, as would be necessary for an exhaustive analysis. Some of the phenomena which should be observed in this connexion are not accessible to study by the behaviouristic methods of the field worker. But it may be worth mentioning that one can readily observe the constraint and force which, at some times, the affection and indulgence which, at others, are expressed in the way parents treat their infant children. From the day of its birth an infant is subjected to the agonizing ordeal of a daily bath in steaming medicated water which is so hot that it becomes rigid with pain on the first douche. One sees infants of a few days to about 12 months old arbitrarily held down on their mother's laps while medicated drinking water is forcibly poured down their throats as they struggle and splutter. A few minutes after an infant has been treated thus roughly it will be lovingly suckled, fondled, and caressed by mother or sister, or affectionately dandled by its father. A 3-year-old suddenly frightened runs to its father, or more characteristically to its mother to bury its face between her knees, clutching her thighs, or to snatch at the breast. The same 3-year-old, in a fit of temper, will nag, whimper petulantly, strike its mother with its little fists. No one beats an infant for this. The mother tries to soothe it, or patiently calls some one—husband or co-wife—to come and take charge of the unruly child. This indulgence extends to the excretory processes, and to masturbation, which is overt until puberty in boys. Until it is weaned, at about 3—when it can walk—it has very complete possession of its mother. After weaning, which is generally mild, the child becomes more detached from its mother, who now resumes regular intercourse with her husband. At this age, or even younger, children are often playfully threatened by their fathers. 'I will slaughter you if you do so and so', but they always seem to react with complete equanimity to this. Yet a boy of 4–5 years, suspiciously

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[828] Tallensi. The play of Tale children, it has been pointed out, emerges partly as a side-issue of their practical activities. It is also an end in itself, and has a noteworthy role in their social development. In his play the child rehearses his interests, skills, and obligations, and makes experiments in social living without having to pay the penalty for mistakes. Hence there is always a phase of play in the evolution of any schema preceding its full emergence into practical life. Play, therefore, is often mimetic in content, and expresses the child's identifications. But the Tale child's play mimesis is never simple and mechanical reproduction; it is always imaginative construction based on the themes of adult life and of the life of slightly older children. He or she adapts natural objects and other materials, often with great ingenuity, which never occur in the adult activities copied, and rearranges adult functions to fit the specific logical and affective configuration of play.[1]

A typical play situation. How vividly these motifs appear in the play of Tale children will be evident to the reader if I describe shortly an actual play situation as I observed and recorded it. I shall describe a typical play episode among children at the transition from infantile egocentricity and dependence to social play and participation in peripheral economic activities. It will be noted how recreational and imaginative play are interwoven with practical activities and how infantile habits still persist. The children's interests fluctuate from moment to moment, egocentric attitudes alternate with co-operative play, and the economic task receives only sporadic attention. Later on we shall consider these factors in relation to the phases of development of children's play.

On a morning in June I found Gɔmna, aged about 7, his half-sister Zɔŋ, aged about 6, and his friend Zoo of about the same age out

[1] In this respect Tale children resemble our own children; cf. S. Isaacs, *Intellectual Growth in Young Children*, pp. 99–102. She sums up: 'Imaginative play builds a bridge by which the child can pass from the symbolic values of things to active inquiry into their real construction and real way of working. . . . In his imaginative play the child recreates selectively those elements in past situations which can embody his emotional and intellectual need of the present, and he adapts the details moment by moment to the present situation. . . .' Cf. also the same author's *Social Development in Young Children*, p. 425, 'Play . . . is supremely the activity which brings him [the child] psychic equilibrium in the early years.'

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524 scaring birds on the home farm. They sat astride the trailing branch
967 of a baobab tree on the boundary of Gəmna's father's farm and Zoo's
868 father's farm. They slid down to talk to me, and a bigger lad, Təŋ,
●857 aged about 10, joined us. Gəmna had wandered off a few yards and now came running up with three locusts. He called to his sister and Zoo. Eagerly they squatted round the locusts. 'These are our cows,' said Gəmna, 'let's build a yard for them.' Zoo and the little girl foraged around and produced a few pieces of decayed bark. The children, Gəmna dominant, giving orders and keeping up a running commentary, set about building a 'cattle-yard' of the pieces of bark. Təŋ, the older boy, also squatted down to help. He and Gəmna constructed an irregular rectangle with one side open of the pieces of bark. Zoo fetched some more pieces of bark which Təŋ used to roof the yard. The little girl stood looking on. Gəmna carefully pushed the locusts in, one by one, and declared, 'We must make a gateway.' Rummaging about, the boys found two pebbles which they set up as gate-posts, with much argument as to how they ought to stand. Suddenly the whole structure collapsed and Təŋ started putting it up again. The little girl meanwhile had found a pair of stones and a potsherd and was on her knees, 'grinding grain'. Suddenly the two small boys dashed off into the growing grain, shouting to scare the birds. In a minute or two they returned to squat by the collapsed 'cattle-yard'. They appeared to have forgotten all about the 'cows', for they were engrossed in a conversation about 'wrestling'. Some one called Təŋ, who departed. Zəŋ, finishing her 'grinding', came up to the boys with the 'flour' on a potsherd and said, 'Let's sacrifice to our shrine.' Gəmna said indifferently, 'Let Zoo do it.' Zoo declared that Gəmna was senior to him, and an argument ensued as to who was senior. Eventually Gəmna asserted, 'I'm the senior.' Zəŋ meanwhile had put down her 'flour' which
[526] was quite forgotten; for Zoo challenged Gəmna's assertion. Gəmna retorted that he was undoubtedly senior since he could throw Zoo in wrestling. Zoo denied this, and in a few minutes they were grappling each other. Gəmna managed to throw Zoo and rolled over him; but they stood up in perfectly good temper, panting and proud. Suddenly with a shout Gəmna began to scramble up the baobab branch, followed by Zoo, calling out, 'Let's swing.' For a minute or two

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they rocked back and forth on the branch and then descended. Now Gəmna remembered his cows. Vehemently he accused his sister of having taken them, and when she denied this challenged her to 'swear'. 'All right,' she said placidly. Gəmna took a pinch of sand in his left hand and put his right thumb on it. Zəŋ licked her thumb and pressed down with it on Gəmna's thumb-nail. He stood still a moment, then suddenly withdrew his thumb. (This is a children's play ordeal.) Gəmna examined his sister's thumb and found sand adhering. 'There you are,' he said, rapping her on the head with a crooked finger. The 'cows' were completely forgotten though, for now they turned their attention to me, asking me various questions. After a while Gəmna, who had been observing my shoes, said, 'Let's make shoes,' and took a couple of pieces of the decayed bark previously used to build the cattle-yard to make shoes. He and Zəŋ found some grass and old string lying about and tried to tie the pieces of bark to the soles of their feet. Gəmna now noticed his 'cows' and picked them up, but he was still trying to make 'shoes'. The 'shoes' refused to hold together so he abandoned them and squatted over his 'cows' for a moment, moving them hither and thither. 'I'm going to let them copulate,' he burst out with a grin, and tried to put one locust on top of another. Looking up, he noticed a flutter of birds' wings. 'Zəŋ,' he cried, jumping to his feet, 'scare the birds!' and he raced into the grain, followed by his companions, shouting and stooping to pick up handfuls of gravel to fling at the birds. For the next five minutes they were engrossed in bird-scaring. The entire episode lasted over half an hour.

The developmental phases of play. Infant play. Up to the age of 6 or 7 a good deal of play, especially that of boys, consists in sheer motor exuberance. Small boys run about, leap and prance for the pleasure of it, frequently in a totally unorganized way. But even 3-year-old boys often introduce mimetic themes, spontaneously or in response to suggestions from older children. They 'ride horses', using a long stick as a horse, with a wisp of grass attached as bridle. In the Festival season they love 'playing drums'. Cylindrical tins discarded by our cook and useless as receptacles were in great demand for this purpose. A remnant of goatskin tied over one end with a strip of bark or grass makes a satisfactory diaphragm, and a hooked twig

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524 534 857 serves as a drumstick. Often an older boy of 8 or 9 manufactures a toy drum for himself or an infant brother. A small discarded calabash is covered with a piece of skin—a remnant of goatskin or the skin of a rat caught by the boy himself and prepared by himself. The skin is cleverly attached to the calabash with strong thorns. Small boys delight in walking round, tapping out a rhythm on a toy drum, sometimes executing a few dance steps. Another instrument they like to copy is the *kolog*, a single-string fiddle. I once saw a boy of about 6 singing to a 'fiddle' which consisted of a large bow made of a green stick and a thread of grass—the 'fiddle'—and a smaller bow of the same materials—the 'bow'. A bow of the very same sort with a short piece of thick reed as arrow is the 4- to 6-year-old's introduction to the handling of bow and arrow. They very soon develop an accurate aim at a dozen yards or so. Play of this kind is generally very egocentric. I have watched groups of children playing side by side—a boy with a 'drum' absorbed in his banging, another lying on his back absorbed in fantasy, a couple of little girls playing at housekeeping—all indifferent to one another's activities.

857 868 The little girl of 5 to 6 plays in much the same way at times; but she is already being drawn into the family play of slightly older children, and, like the small boy with the toy bow, she tends to mimic simpler features of older girls' play when she is playing alone. Hence one often sees a little girl of this age sitting and playing at 'grinding millet'—one stone as metate, a smaller stone as muller, and a handful of sand or a potsherd as the grain.

Play in early childhood. Between the ages of about 6 and 10 the play of both sexes becomes more social and more complex. This is the period when the child is beginning to co-operate in real economic activities, subject to real responsibility, and is acquiring a knowledge of his social space. His or her play reflects these experiences and reflects also the interests and activities characteristic of the stage of maturity just ahead of it. There is, in all Tale children's play, this feature of looking ahead, as it were, experimenting tentatively with what lies just beyond the present psychological horizon.

During this period the younger children, both boys and girls, have charge of the goats, scare the birds from the newly planted fields and the crops, run errands, nurse the infants, and so forth. The boys help

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in sacrifices to domestic shrines; the girls assist in household tasks such as sweeping and carrying water. Towards the end of this period boys whose fathers own cattle go out with the cattle-herds and girls are beginning to help in the preparation of food. A 10-year-old girl can prepare the majority of usual dishes. At the age of 6 or 7 brothers and sisters often play together; at 9 or 10 the sexual dichotomy has become firmly established.[1]

At this stage the play of infancy develops in three directions. The sporadic motor exuberance is transformed into recreational play—organized group games and dances; the rudimentary mimetic play becomes elaborate and protracted imaginative and constructive play; and the rude toy-making of infancy grows into children's arts and crafts.

Tale children have a great many organized games, passed on from one generation of children to the next by drawing younger ones into the games played by those who already know them. The games are traditional, and often built round themes derived from the cultural idiom—farming, hunting, marriage, chiefs, &c. But their value is predominantly recreational. Children play them for the pleasure of collective singing, rhythmical physical activity, and sensory and bodily stimulation. The ordinary dances of moonlight nights in which both adults and children participate are regarded as 'play' of this kind.

Kuobon is a game of this sort. Both boys and girls from 7–8 to about 15 years play it on moonlight nights in single-sex groups. A group of about the same size forms a ring, clasping each other and standing on one leg. The other leg is extended towards the centre of the ring, and the children arrange themselves so that their extended legs cross one another. The group then commences to revolve, singing as they go round and round, *kuobon, yee-e-e la ŋaah*, 'fruits of farming, yee, how nice'. The game goes on until they are tired and the extended legs begin to drop. It breaks up with much laughter, only to start again after a rest. Similar games are played by boys only and others by girls only; but for both sexes dancing is the supreme recreation. In both the mixed dances and the single-sex

[1] Nevertheless, this sexual dichotomy is not so absolute as to prohibit a girl or a woman from stepping into a breach if there is no male available for a man's task; and men often undertake women's work in an emergency.

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857 dances one invariably sees a few small boys or girls at the tail end of the
535 line. At the beginning of the Festival season one often meets a group of children about 6–9 years old practising the dances in their play, crudely but recognizably.

857 At this stage, and till pubescence, boys spend a great deal of their
868 leisure improving their dexterity with the bow and arrow. They now
224 have bows like a man's but smaller, and real arrows with unbarbed
526 heads. They go about in small groups practising marksmanship—shooting at a guinea corn-stalk or a chunk of wood. Sometimes they challenge one another and shoot according to certain rules. The loser forfeits an arrow to the winner. All this is recreational play; but it has a very practical aspect, recognized by adults and children. In Taleland the bow is the symbol of manhood; and every man must know how to wield it. The long years of practice necessary to become an accomplished shot begin with the small boy's first toy bow and extend through the play of childhood and pubescence. Part of this play-practice is the hunting of small field animals and birds. To the boy it is a real hunt, demanding knowledge and alertness and yielding a favourite titbit. Yet it is play as well, being neither obligatory nor dangerous, and being mimetically derived from an adult activity. This has great educational importance. The boy in his play identifies himself with the men, accepts their practical valuation of the bow and arrow, and tries out, as it were, what it feels like to be a man in this respect. Boys often hunt thus in groups, especially when they are out herding cattle, and share the spoil, thus training themselves in co-operation and fair dealing. By the age of 11–12 boys begin to accompany their fathers or elder brothers to real hunts, though they remain onlookers for the most part, whose principal task is to help carrying home anything killed. Not till adolescence will they be allowed to use barbed and poisoned arrows; but quasi-playful hunting thus shades over into the real activity for which it is a preparation.

857 Imaginative play is rich and frequent during this period, though its
153 themes appear to be few. Family life, the principal economic activities, and domestic ritual supply the mimetic content. Sometimes children are entirely preoccupied with such play for hours at a time; often it is interwoven with practical activities or appears as a resonance of practical activities in which the children co-operate.

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On any day in the dry season or the first half of the rainy season one can find a group of girls playing at housekeeping. Most commonly they consist of a group of sisters and ortho-cousins—two to four active participants with, perhaps, a couple of infants attached. Often one or two small boys of about 5 or 6 are in their company, sharing in their play or absorbed in their own separate play. In play, as in the simple economic duties, there is as yet no marked sex dichotomy at this age; and small boys are not ridiculed for 'grinding grain' and 'cooking porridge', or small girls for 'building houses' in play. The girls generally constitute a mixed age group, varying from 6 to 10–11 years, for even those who are already capable of real cooking enjoy playing at it. When they are of about equal maturity their play tends to be loosely organized. Each cooks for herself, but they help one another, lending one another 'utensils', 'grain', 'firewood', and exchanging 'dishes of porridge' like co-wives. When one girl is older than the others she tends to take the lead, and the smaller girls assist her on the pattern of daughter helping mother in real cooking. Infants are 'our children'; and reliable informants have told me that small boys are said to be the 'husbands'—but I have never observed boys being addressed thus, though I have watched housekeeping play very frequently. According to my observation, it is merely implied in the manner of distributing the 'cooked porridge', which follows the pattern of family feeding. Older girls sometimes introduce dolls as the 'children'—clay figures of people made by themselves or, more usually, for them by their brothers.

The essentials of the play consist in 'grinding flour', 'cooking sauce' and 'porridge', and 'sharing out' the 'food'. Every feature of the real processes is mimicked, but with the most ingenious imaginative adaptations. A pair of flattish stones or a boulder and a large pebble serve as 'grindstones'. For pots, dishes, calabashes, and ladles various things are used—old sherds chipped into roughly circular pieces the size of a half-crown or crown, fragments of old calabashes, the husks, whole or bisected, of *molomok* or *kalompoo*, spherical fruits of common trees varying in size from that of a large marble to that of a cricket ball, and even old tins or bits of tins, while some girls make little pots of clay. Pebbles make a fire-place, a thin piece of millet-stalk is the stirring-stick, some dried grass the firewood.

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857 524 868 Sometimes a real fire is lit, but usually it is merely imagined. Real grain is never used in such play—it is too valuable to waste thus, as the children themselves would be the first to insist. A piece of potsherd pounded up or a handful of sand serves as grain; but a much more realistic effect is sometimes achieved by using dry baobab stamens. These can be 'winnowed' and the 'grain' ground. Green weeds and leaves are vegetables.

The children play with great zest and earnestness, yet never forget that it is but play. As they grind they hum in a low voice a grinding song they have heard from mother or elder sister. They examine the 'flour' to see that it is fine enough, try to get the right proportion of water, stir the 'porridge' thoroughly, 'dish' it out with scrupulous fairness. There is a constant interchange of conversation and commands to the smaller children: 'Bring me that dish', 'Lend me your broom', 'That's my firewood', 'Don't stir so fast', 'Come and fetch your porridge', and so on. As a rule they play together most amicably. I have observed arguments in such groups about who should do some task or another, but never quarrels. There is real co-operation, based on a distribution of tasks in play.

Such play is occasionally associated with a 'house' built of mud by a brother who often does not share the play, or actually uses the 'house' for his cattle play while his sisters are 'cooking' nearby. [864] It is said, also, that housekeeping play sometimes branches into sexual play, little boys and girls pretending to be husband and wife and trying to copulate. Detailed inquiry shows that this is not common. [836] The usual method of sexual experimentation at this stage of development follows the pattern of adolescence. Small boys 'woo sweethearts' with little gifts, and sexual experiments occur in connexion with dancing or by chance opportunities.[1]

Girls' housekeeping play ceases with the beginning of pubescence. Not only are they by then already taking a full share in real housekeeping but their interests are turning to youths and marriage. Housekeeping play, in which the child rehearses the interests which it has as yet neither the skill nor the degree of social development to satisfy, and expresses the wishes which pubescence brings near to realization, has served its purpose.

[1] See my paper on 'Kinship, Incest and Exogamy', loc. cit.

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The corresponding play of boys at this stage is 'cattle-keeping'. It occurs more sporadically than the girls' play, particularly with older boys; but as much fantasy and invention go into it. Sometimes, indeed, it seems like an overt day-dream of leisure hours. One boy alone, or two, usually play. When the group is bigger more boisterous or recreational play ousts it—they wrestle, shoot arrows, gamble with ground-nuts, or at certain seasons pitch bangles and hoops of plaited reed. Boys of all ages are far less placid than girls.

The 'cattle' play involves constructing a 'house' in which the 'gateway' and the 'stable' are prominently indicated and finding something to serve as 'cattle'—sheep and goats never seem to enter. These activities, and moving the cattle about in and out of the 'stable', with murmured remarks in monologue or addressed to a companion, constitutes the play. I have never been able to record this accompanying speech as I have always had to watch cattle play from a distance. Boys say that it is 'about bulls and cows'.

'Cattle' play has more of pure fantasy and less reproduction of real activities than 'housekeeping' play. Sometimes the 'house' and 'stable' are built of mud—a circular 'wall', 9 or 10 inches in diameter and 2 inches high, with a space left for the 'gateway', and a smaller circle of mud adjoining it as the 'stable'—to last for a whole dry season. Often it is constructed *ad hoc*—two circles drawn in the sand or made of heaped-up sand may be enough. A great variety of objects serve as 'cattle'. Boys who like modelling may make clay figures of cows and bulls for their play; bits of sticks, leaves of a common shrub which can be opened so as to stand up on their edges, pebbles, and other things are used. Yet despite the meagre materials and the paucity of mimetic content the play fascinates boys from the age of 5 or 6, when they are still too young to go out with the herds, to about 12, when they may be full-blown herd-boys. Even if their families have no cattle and they have never followed a herd regularly, they play at it. The interest and identification are active nevertheless.

At this stage, too, domestic ritual begins to be reflected in the play of boys. A boy's or girl's schema of ritual and religious ideology at the age of 9 or 10 includes the main structural principles of the system. As his knowledge has been acquired by attending at sacrifices, he knows most about the ritual acts and conventional formulas connected

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857 524 869 with sacrifice and least about the beliefs and theories. He is familiar with all the concepts of Tale religion and magic but cannot assign them accurately to their relevant contexts. He knows that ancestor spirits and medicines are different, and can even describe some of the latter by their functions, but cannot elucidate these differences. He knows also and believes that health, prosperity and success depend on mystical agencies, that sickness, death, and misfortune are caused by them, and that sacrifices must be made to placate them or to expiate offences. He has heard talk of all this and seen consultations of diviners. As an infant, perhaps, he has been called by his mother to get off a partition wall 'lest the spirits push you off', or has seen food put out 'for the spirits' during the ritual festivals. He knows what different types of shrines look like and what are their appurtenances. But it is surface knowledge, confused in details and full of gaps.

857 524 869 781 788 Ritual is men's business, though women are well versed in it. Hence it emerges mostly in the play of boys and not of girls. Significantly, it is permitted till pubescence, that is, as long as a boy is not likely to take a responsible part in real ritual. After that he is liable to have to accept an ancestor spirit demanding real sacrifices and may no longer play at it. At 13 or 14 years of age, when a boy's ritual schemas approximate those of an adult, he fully understands and acquiesces in this prohibition. It suggests, however, that playing at ritual has a different value for children than actual ritual has for adults. Children share the adults' interest in ritual and accept its prescriptions, but not the adults' emotional relationship to ritual. In their play they express this interest and their identifications, rehearse their knowledge, and integrate it with the rest of their educational achievements.

857 524 869 Small boys build shrines a few inches high for themselves in a corner of the cattle-yard. They take great pains to achieve verisimilitude and neatness, and their inventiveness is remarkable. *Kalampoo* husks are turned into medicine-pots; fragments of calabash or potsherd represent the hoe-blade which is essential to many ancestor shrines; a pronged twig is a shrine's 'tree'; the tail of a stillborn kid or lamb, tied with string and feathers in the same way as adults do, is a shrine's 'tail', another object commonly dedicated to real shrines. There are 'roots' —of grass—as in adult medicine-pots, and other appurtenances.

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Whenever they build miniature houses, during the building season, 857 ●
' shrines ' are added and, as in real life, each has his own. 524

Play with these shrines is woven into other play activities, and it 869
revolves around sacrifice. When a small boy goes out hunting for fieldmice or birds, if he happens to have a ' shrine ' he will ' give it water ', i.e. pour a libation to it. Ashes represent flour, which is stirred up in water as in a real sacrifice. He invokes the shrine, ' My father ' (but never mentioning names as in real sacrifice since his own father is probably still alive), ' accept this water and grant that I have successful hunting. If I kill an animal, I will give you a dog.' Some time later he may catch a live mouse, and when he has played with it to satiety he ' sacrifices ' it on his shrine—this is the promised ' dog '. A nestling bird found alive is ' sacrificed ' as a ' fowl ' or ' guinea-fowl '. If he finds a live mouse or bird by chance it will always be taken home and ' sacrificed ' thus before it is cut up and eaten. Taboos like those of adults are invented for his shrines. Fetishes, like those of adults, accept only red and black ' fowls '; other shrines only white ones. Siikaani, a small boy of about 7 or 8, built him- [778
self a *loo* fetish, which can be dispatched to ' tie up ' any one 789]
who might interfere with one's enterprises. Siikaani pretended to use his *loo* to keep the parents of his ' sweetheart ' out of the way when he went to see her—a frequent use of a real *loo* by young men.

Of the imaginative and constructive play produced as a response 857
to current social activities in which children co-operate, I shall 524
instance only building. During the building season a favourite pre- 868
occupation of the children is to build miniature rooms or houses. It is a co-operative group enterprise, boys and girls frequently working together, led by a boy of about 12–13. It is carried on in the intervals between helping the men. Sometimes they are content to build only walls, a few inches high, but when the leader is keen they undertake a complete replica of a house—walls a foot or more high, several rooms properly arranged, a roof, a beaten inner court, and shrines. The work goes on for days on end and needs planning and organization. The girls and smaller boys make the swish and roll it into pellets, the older boys do the actual building, often with extraordinary skill. When the ' house' is built and roofed and the walls have dried, if the

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

857 524 868 enthusiasm for building still lasts, the girls plaster the walls and beat the inner court in the way they have learnt by assisting their mothers with these tasks in connexion with the real house.

857 524 868 301 283 Children's arts and crafts have a play value in that they are practised purely for pleasure and have a seasonal incidence. But they demand considerable skill of eye and hand, and individual differences in ability are noticeable. Towards the end of the rainy season a strong and supple reed springs up in profusion along the watercourses. Young people and children pluck these reeds to plait bangles, necklets, small panels to hang over the chest as decorations, and waistbands. These things are worn by young and old at the festival dances. But whereas the young men and women plait sporadically a few things for themselves, their sweetheart, or a child, children do so continuously and absorbedly. From July to September one sees them sitting about or strolling about in small groups, plaiting reed decorations. The boys have a game played by tossing or bowling the reed bangles and waistbands at a mark. A group plays, and the winner collects all. Girls of all ages love decking themselves from head to foot in this reedware. The technique of plaiting these articles, which is the same as that employed in the manufacture of a number of utilitarian objects, is fairly elaborate. It is gradually learnt between the ages of about 8 and 11.

857 524 868 532 Less widely practised is the art of modelling clay figures. Girls sometimes model, but it is chiefly a diversion of boys. Cattle and other animals, humans, horses accoutred and with riders astride are the usual subjects. A taste for modelling appears to depend on talent to a great extent. Many boys never acquire the art; others take such delight in it that they devote the whole dry season to producing dozens of clay figures for themselves, brothers and sisters, and friends. Gifted boys model extremely cleverly. I knew two boys of 12 or 13, sons of a chief, who made clay horses and manufactured saddlery and trappings of old rags and bells and ornaments of pieces of tin to adorn the figures. Older boys or youths teach small boys by correcting errors they make in modelling; but I have never found a boy of under 8 or 9 years able to model well.

883 868 *Play from pubescence to adolescence.* The last stage of childhood coincides with the rapid absorption of the child into the economic

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

883 experimenting without responsibility, though with great earnestness.
868 Two or three years later the play element has vanished. If he culti-
866 vates a personal plot he makes an effort to beg land which is agriculturally good, and works with the avowed purpose of obtaining a crop which, though minute compared with the needs of the family, suffices to buy himself a cap or a loin-cloth. The time he can now devote to his own plot or to his own ground-nuts must be adjusted in accordance with his responsibilities as a contributor to the family economy.

With boys, therefore, as with girls, the completion of their childhood education marks the end of childhood play. Mimetic and imaginative experimentation becomes redundant when the individual attains social responsibility and maturity. The play of Tale children changes, as we have seen, *pari passu* with their advancing maturity, contributing at each stage to the elaboration and integration of those interests, skills, and observances the mastery and acceptance of which is the final result of their education.

VI. Synoptic Chart of Educational Development

In conclusion, and in order to bring the preceding analysis of the education of Tale children to a focus, I append a synoptic chart setting out the main trends of the development of their interests and skills as these are reflected in their economic duties and activities, on the one hand, and in their play on the other. The reader will realize that these norms are necessarily crude and approximate. I have not ventured to include observances in the chart, since the trend of their acquisition cannot easily be analysed into approximate stages.

CHART OF DEVELOPMENT

BOYS

● 857

Economic Duties and Activities	*Play*
3–6 years	
None at first. Towards end of this period begin to assist in pegging out goats; scaring birds from newly sown fields and from crops; accompany family sowing and harvesting parties; using hoe in quasi-play to glean ground-nuts in company of older siblings.	Exuberant motor and exploratory play. Use mimetic toys (bow, drum, &c.) in egocentric play. Towards end of period social and imaginative play with 'cattle' and 'house-building' commences, often in company of older children of either sex, as well as recreational games and dancing.

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6–9 years

These duties now fully established. Help in house-building by carrying swish. Assist in sowing and harvesting. Towards end of period begin to go out with the herd-boys, and to care for poultry.

Imaginative 'cattle' and 'house-building' play common, the latter often reflecting current economic activity of adults. Practice with bow and arrow in marksmanship competitions, and 'hunting' with groups of comrades begun. Recreational games and dancing established. Modelling clay figures and plaiting begun. Ritual play begun.

9–12 years

Fully responsible cattle-herding. Care for poultry. Assisting parents in hoeing and care of crops, but without responsibility. Farming own small plots and ground-nuts but in quasi-play. Sons of specialist craftsmen assist fathers in subsidiary capacity—'learning by looking'.

Further development of preceding forms of play, especially of ritual play. Clay-modelling and plaiting established. Recreational games and dancing more skilful. Quasi-play farming.

Sexual dichotomy in work and play established.

12–15 years

Duties as in preceding period but more responsible. Responsible care of poultry, sometimes own property. Leaders of herd-boys. Real farming of own plots and in co-operation with older members of family established by end of period. Sons of specialists experimentally making things.

Imaginative play abandoned. Dancing the principal recreation. Ritual play abandoned. Modelling gradually abandoned. Plaiting for personal decoration mainly. Regular sweet-hearting commences.

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GIRLS

Economic Duties and Activities

Play

3–6 years

None at first. Towards end of period the same duties as small boys. Frequent nursing of infants. Accompany mothers to water-hole and begin to carry tiny water-pots. Help in simple domestic tasks such as sweeping.

Exuberant motor and exploratory play. Attached to older sisters and drawn into their 'housekeeping' play. Towards end of period begin to take active social part in the latter and begin recreational play and dancing. Often found in mixed sex groups.

857

6–9 years

Duties of previous period established. Responsible co-operation in water-carrying and simpler domestic duties. Help in cooking and in activities associated with food-preparation, such as searching for wild edible herbs. Accompany family parties at sowing and harvesting, giving quasi-playful help. Carry swish at building operations and assist women in plastering and floor-beating, but still with a play element.

'Housekeeping' play usual. Recreational play and dancing established. Begin to learn plaiting. Participate in 'building' play of boys, mimicking current women's activities, e.g. plastering.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

9–12 years

857 All domestic duties can be entrusted to them by end of this period—water-carrying, cooking, care of infants, &c. Assisting in building and plastering, &c., more responsibly. Often sent to market to buy and sell. Help in women's part of the work at sowing and harvest times.

'Housekeeping' play continues, gradually fading out at end of this period. Dancing becomes principal recreation. Plaiting both for decoration and use established. Begin to have sweethearts but not yet with serious intent.

Sexual dichotomy in work and play established.

12–15 years

883 Responsible part in all domestic duties of everyday life, and of those associated with ceremonial occasions. Go for firewood and collect shea-fruits in the bush, and help to prepare shea butter. (Marriage a very near prospect.)

Note. Care of infants and children is a duty of girls at all ages. Boys also are frequently entrusted with this task.

Imaginative play abandoned. Dancing the main recreation. Courtship and hetero-sexual interests occupy a great deal of time and attention. Actively participate in the social side of funeral ceremonies, &c., in the role of marriageable girls.

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